1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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As a matter of course they will seek a place 'higher than the village', in Balinese thus *kaja*,[16] to worship the lord of the ground. This place of veneration is the *pura puseh*[17] or temple of origin, and there, besides the lord of the ground, the villagers will later also worship the deified forefather or clan and village founder, and seek contact with that force. For the graveyard and the *pura dalem* accompanying it (also in its more rudimentary forms) they will seek a place 'lower than the village' (*kelod*).

For their village meetings they choose a spot in the centre of the settlement, for example at a crossroads or the place where the market is held (the two will often coincide). It is quite plausible that in very early times the young men's houses, the accomodations for strangers (that is to say, guests of the village), and perhaps the pavilion for the cockfights were located there. Also the initiation of young people to the status of full members of the *desa* may have taken place there in very early days. (Whether there were originally various initiations, for example first a puberty rite, then later the initiation as *desa* member coinciding with the young man's marriage, need not be considered here.) This centre of the village, with its multiple functions in *desa* life, developed into a temple, the *pura bale agung*, the temple of the large (meeting) hall. It is this temple that Korn describes as "the sacral men's house".[18]

These three temples should be present in every village, and the more traditional villages have all three. But there are remarkable local deviations. In the first place the *pura puseh* may be represented anew in a part of the *pura bale agung*. This representation can be of various kinds. Sometimes there is a separate *pura puseh*, and moreover a chapel for the god of the *puseh* in the *pura bale agung*. At other times there is no separate *pura puseh*, but a place is reserved for it on or next to the grounds of the *pura bale agung*. In this latter case there is always a clear boundary separating the two, whether it is a stone wall, a wall of bamboo, a simple elevation of the ground, or a hedge. The *pura dalem*, too, can be represented in various ways. It is often to be found in front of the main entry to the *pura bale agung*, reduced to a single pavilion or

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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243 782 312 bers goes to the holy sources of water such as Lake Batur, or Besakih in the Gunung Agung. They take offerings with them to gain the goodwill of the deities of the lake or of the sacred spring. Some water is brought back in a bamboo container (*sudjang*) wrapped in a new cloth and hung with strings of *kepeng*, topped by a bunch of beautiful mottled red and green *andong* leaves for decoration.

At the return of the expedition the *sudjang* is deposited on an altar in the temple of the *subak*. It is believed that the deities of

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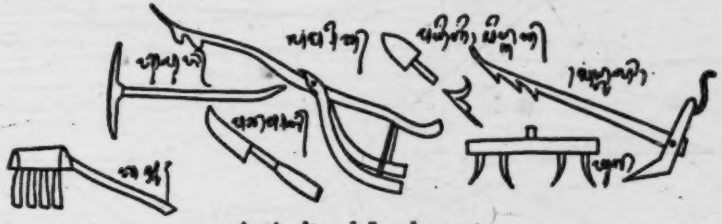

Agricultural Implements

the holy water are embodied in the container, and a feast (*mapag*) is given in honour of the divine guests. To entertain them so that they will not leave, the *subak* members perform dances and burn incense in braziers. The fields are sprinkled with holy water and the rest is poured into the common canal of the *subak* so that all the fields may benefit by it. The feast over, the necessary repairs are made, with more offerings so that the water will flow through the proper channels. Then the water is let in to flood the dry soil, and all *subak* members meet again to take a vow not to steal from one another. The land is cleansed with a great offering to the evil spirits and cockfights are staged to satisfy their thirst for blood.

243 527 541 When planting-time arrives, the land is ploughed over and over again, and harrowed to incorporate with the soil the weeds and rice straw that serve as fertilizer. In some places the land is effectively ploughed, in a spirit of festivity and sport, in great bull races (*megrumbungan*) held before a new crop is planted. The

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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expense involved in entertaining the many guests with a banquet has made the bull races rare nowadays, but they are still to be seen in North Bali, where there are many rich peasants. Besides the amusement derived from the race, the chance for gambling, and the utilitarian ploughing of the field, the feast is considered a good investment, because the gods, pleased by the gay and colourful spectacle, are expected to repay the donor with a plentiful harvest.

The race is held in a flooded ricefield between rival teams of specially trained bulls. The oxen are crowned with ornaments of tooled gilt leather, and silk banners decorate their yokes. Enormous wooden bells, often three feet across, are attached to their necks. Bets are placed as the contending teams are lined up with their drivers standing on the rakes to which the bulls are hitched. At a signal from the referee, they are off with a speed one does not usually associate with ploughing oxen. The yelling drivers, on the rakes that glide along the mud, whip and entice the bulls to run across the field, always with an elegant gait. Their heads are raised high, forced up by the great thumping bells, giving them an added elegance. However fast they may run, the referee gives his decision not to the fastest, but to the team with the most stately bearing.

It is typical of the Balinese to place style before mere physical speed.

When the field is prepared, the mother-seed, which has been picked from the largest and most beautiful ears, is soaked for two days and two nights, then spread on a mat and sprinkled with water until the germ breaks through. A nursery plot is prepared in a corner of the field to receive the young sprouts, which must be planted on a propitious day set by the religious calendar. They remain in the nursery for about two months; then when they have developed enough, they are pulled out, washed, pruned, tied in bunches, and exposed to the air for one night. By this time the sawas are clean and ready to receive the young plants; offerings (*sudjuk*) to Dewi Sri are made again and the owner of the *sawa*,

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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the same time. Although resembling the style of the ruins of Panataran in East Java, Balinese art is not the art of Java transplanted into Bali, but a parallel art, made even more Baroque by additional decorative elements from China. Tropical vegetation in stone invaded the architecture in the same way that

Tjili from a Clay Tile

the living creepers and parasites would engulf an abandoned monument in the hothouse atmosphere of Bali.

THE PLASTIC ARTS IN MODERN BALI

Sculpture and Architecture: The primary function of the average sculptor is to enhance the public buildings of his community with florid decoration and judging from the profusion of such carved temple and palace walls, gates, drum-towers, public baths, court houses, and so forth, seen even in the remotest districts, one comes to the conclusion that there must be an enormous

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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then the Lord of Hell, Yama, sweeps Hades of devils, which fall on Bali, making it imperative that the whole of the island be purified.

There is great excitement all over Bali at this time, and on the days before *nyepí* everybody is busy erecting altars for the offerings and scaffolds for the priests at the village crossroads. Since no cooking is allowed on *nyepí* day, the food for the next day is prepared and there are *melis* processions all over Bali to take the gods to the sea for their symbolical bath. The celebration proper extends over a period of two days: the *metjaru*, the great purification offering, and *nyepí*, the day of silence. On the first day the Government allows unrestricted gambling and cockfighting, an essential part of the ceremony, because the land is cured by spilling blood over impure earth.

In Den Pasar round after round was fought all morning; crowds of men gathered in the meeting hall of every *bandjar*, each bringing his favourite fighting cock in a curious satchel of fresh coconut leaves, handle and all, woven over the cock's body, its tail left sticking out so as not to damage the feathers. Each satchel was cut open and the cocks presented to the audience to announce the matches. The betting began; excited enthusiasts waved strings of *kepengs* and silver *ringgit* and yelled at each other. A vicious steel blade five inches long and sharp as a razor was attached to the right foot of each cock in place of the natural spur, which was cut off. When both contenders were ready and the bets had been placed, the referee and the time-keeper went to their places and gave the signal to start, beating a small gong.

The two cocks, held by their owners, were brought to the middle of the arena, provoked against each other and released. The audience became tense, and the cocks attacked each other with such fury that the eye could not follow them; there were only flashes of the polished steel of the spurs in the cloud of flying feathers. Each round lasted only a few seconds; suddenly the two cocks stopped and stood motionless in front of each

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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other, both streaming blood, until one staggered and fell dead, the winner crowing and still pecking furiously at the corpse.

It frequently happens that both cocks are wounded but the survivor is healed and often lives to fight many battles. A cock is disqualified if it runs away at the beginning; otherwise the fight is to death. When a cock is wounded but it is considered that it can go on fighting, its owner gives it strength to go on with special massages, blowing his own breath into its lungs; then it is not rare for a badly wounded cock to come out triumphantly over an apparent winner. Should both cocks refuse to fight, they are placed inside a basket, where one cannot avoid being killed. Hundreds of roosters are sacrificed in this manner in every village on the day before *nyepí*.

The Balinese cannot understand the attitude of the sentimental Dutch, who have forbidden cockfights. To them a rooster is as dead in the kitchen as after a cockfight; besides, cockfights are staged as a religious duty, as a sport that gives an opportunity for a little gambling and as a way to provide food for the next day. The dead roosters are taken home and cooked for the *nyepí* meal. After the cockfights, in Den Pasar it is customary to give a banquet for the children of each *bandjar*, a double row of beautifully decorated trays filled with sweets and cakes served to them by the *bandjar* officials.

Before sunset the evil spirits had to be lured and concentrated at the great offering, the *metjaru*, then cast out by the powerful spells of the priests of the village. Facing towards *kangin*, the East of Den Pasar, were tall altars filled with offerings: one for the Sun and for the Trinity (*sanggah agung*), one for the ancestors, and a third for the great *kalas*, the evil gods. In the centre of the ground an elaborate conglomeration of objects was arranged: food of all sorts, every kind of strong drink, money and house utensils, hundreds of containers of banana leaf with a sample of every seed and fruit that grew on the island, and a piece of the flesh of every wild and domestic animal in Bali (a small piece of dried tiger flesh was pointed out); all arranged

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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545 627 754 the princess of Djerokuta, believed by everybody to have been killed by the superior magic of the low-caste Makatjung.

75 541 A Balinese prince well known for his eccentric intrigues once announced he was to give a demonstration of how a man became a *leyak* and invited the entire foreign population of Bali to witness the phenomena. He seemed particularly anxious to attract even the casual tourists that came to the Bali Hotel. On the appointed night not only the Government officials, tourists, and illustrious Balinese had congregated in the darkness of the cemetery, but a great rowdy crowd of Balinese who had heard the rumour had gathered, equally curious, although less skeptical of the supernatural performance than the whites. They climbed trees, tearing branches and flashing lights into each other's faces, until the infuriated prince banned all flashlights. The prince's motive came out clearly when before starting the demonstration, he asked the guests for a contribution of one guilder and twenty cents to pay for the offerings that had to be made, should the man succeed in becoming a *leyak*.

After an endless wait the crowd gasped when a greenish light became visible at one end of the graveyard. As it approached it looked more and more suspiciously like a piece of banana leaf with a light behind it. A Dutch official next to me, who had retained his flashlight, aimed it suddenly at the ghost, who disappeared behind the low mound of a convenient new grave. The undaunted prince contended indignantly that the *leyak* was frightened and would not appear again, so he did not collect the fee. Thus ended our only opportunity to make the acquaintance of a *leyak*.

754 The existence of these *leyaks* is to the Balinese an incontestable fact. They are held responsible for most of the evils that afflict Bali, including sickness and death. Like the vampire, they suck the blood of sleeping people and are particularly fond of the entrails of unborn children. Every Balinese has stories

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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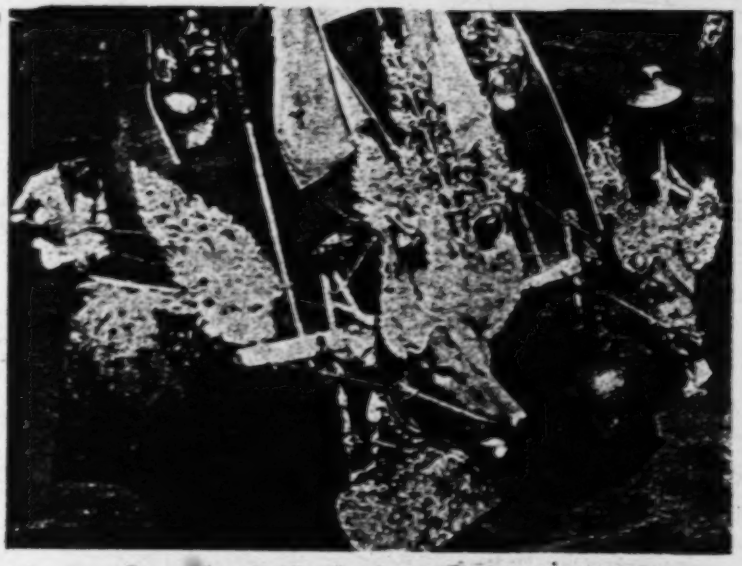

Oxen and a primitive plough are used in the ricefields

Ploughing can be turned to festive and to profitable uses, made to please the gods and to serve as a basis for bull-racing bets

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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Preparing for the cockfight: tying on the steel spurs; the owners of the cocks

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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Ready for the fight; the loser

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

Contests (Miasa; mebiasa)

*796 1:30 a.m. Now came the contests, for, the priest afterwards explained, the gods delight to watch any sort of combat (*mepaloe*) just as they enjoy a cockfight. Set before the central shrine (*Pepelik*) was a bamboo couch, flanked by two ceremonial parasols and two spears, their long shafts stuck into the ground. On the couch were laid the various objects for the fray, drawn up in two opposing lines, *kadja* and *kelod* (inland and towards the sea). On each side was an egg, a coconut, a skein of thread, a ring of coins bound together to form a shape like a collar (*pipis djan*). On the *kadja* side were ranged as well the *tjaratan* (water-jar) and the bottle of *arak*, while on the *kelod* side were the smoking *pasepan* (brazier), the bowl of holy water (*penastan*), and the bottle of rice-wine. In the center of the couch was a space, left clear, for the battleground.

The first encounter was not particularly spirited. A young women took up the drinking-vessel from the *kadja* side, and another young woman the brazier from the *kelod* side. They danced a few steps circling the couch, passed each other, then spilled from the jar and wafted the smoke, and returned the objects to the couch. Now Rawi danced again with the water-jar, and Teer with the bowl. Again they sprinkled and spilled, and replaced the objects. But in the third joust there was more action. The two women took up each an egg, danced about and passed each other; then, facing each other across the couch, they rolled the eggs towards each other, knocking them together. Now Rawi's egg was placed on the *kelod* side and Teer's on the *kadja*, having exchanged places. They followed this with a similar match, coconut against coconut, again exchanging the places when they had been knocked together. Rawi then pitted her skein of black thread against Teer's white thread, with a similar outcome. The ring of money joined battle against the other ring, and they changed places. Finally the *arak*-bottle challenged the bottle of rice-wine, and, not forgetting to spill a libation from each, the women replaced them on the opposite sides from where they had stood.[30]

[782]

Now, as a climax, the dancers took up the two parasols, which were implanted east and west. They danced past each other, crossing the shafts, and planted them on opposite sides. Finally, they lifted the two spears, crossed them, and set them in exchanged places.

(The last two encounters are the ones most commonly executed in other districts under the name of *miasa* or *mebiasa*. Usually the dancing is by men, very often in trance.)

The priest introduced the contests with this prayer:

[539 D81] *Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Sami, titiang ngatoerang sarining bebanten, koekoes aroem, boerat wangi, lenga wangi, moeang kala-kalaan.*

Wong serija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

[541] [30] Part of this ritual often precedes the cockfights.

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER FOUR

DAYS FOLLOWING THE ODALAN

First day (Manis odalan)

*796 [515] a. m. Awakening; dressing the gods (*Tetangi*; *ngiasin betara*): As soon as it was light, the priest rose, took water from the temple jar, washed his face, rinsed out his mouth, and shaking out his long hair, bound it up again in the white headcloth. Then he attended to the gods' toilet. Offering them first the brazier, to rouse them (*tetangi*), then their toilet set (*pebersihan*) with the *rantasan* and *tjanang rêbong*, he continued to dress them (*mijasan*) by removing the fading flowers in the headdresses of the little figures, and replacing them with fresh ones. These attentions are given to the gods every morning of their stay in the temple.

*796 182 Sharing of offerings (*Ngedoem*): Towards the middle of the morning, members from each household in the *bandjar* came to the temple to receive their shares of the *piodalan* offerings from the day before. The cooked rice, meat, cakes, and fruit were laid out in little piles on all the stands and platforms, in fair division — if a man got an egg in his share, then he did not get a coconut. In every sort of basket and odd leaf-container they bore away the rather dreary looking remains of last night's feast.

And then had to begin the preparation of a new set of offerings (*penganjaran*) which have to be placed in every shrine on each of the days succeeding the *odalan*. They consist of food (*adjengan*) and betel (*tjanang*). The old woman, wife of the priest of Nagasari, went about [887] placing these offerings within the doors of all the little shrines built like houses, and in the covered openings of the pillar-like stone shrines, on [1178] the throne of Soerja and the central pavilion (*Pepelik*), the two *Panggoengans*, and even to the outlying shrines of Melanting and Gelogor, the Market Goddess and Watersprite, she went to sprinkle a few drops of water and to deliver the refreshments.

The women and girls had also to make a fresh set of *péndètan* offerings to be given to all the gods in the evening, when there would again be dancing (*méndèt*) for their entertainment.

*796 541 p. m. Cockfight (*Metadjèn*): In the early afternoon, the men of the *bandjar* returned to the temple, this time bearing baskets from which peeped the heads of their favorite fighting cocks. A crowd of several hundred men squatted down in the space outside the temple gate (*djaban poera*). Bringing a cock is compulsory for each man. The fine is ten [689] *képèngs* if he does not bring or send one, and five *képèngs* if his cock does

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

not fight. Even the priest must obey this regulation! The cockfight is a necessary adjunct of the *odalan*, "in order that blood may be spilled on the ground" (*laboeh getih*), but it is also a fascinating sport for the men. Not only the immediate members of the *bandjar* attend, but cock-fanciers and habitual gamblers from neighboring villages are attracted. They swell the crowd and make the occasion a gayer one. Squatting on their haunches, exciting their cocks, taking hold of and testing the strength of possible opponents for their entries, making up matches, offering bets, and watching with bated breath the all too rapid playing out of the contests, the men passed the hours until sundown. When there was no longer sufficient light, they wended their way home again, weary but happy. Most of them — for this is not a village of wealthy people — had won or lost amounts ranging from ten cents to about five guilders.

9:00 p. m. Refreshment and dancing (*Méndèt*): On this day, it is customary to bring the individual gift offerings (*matoeran*) to the gods. Not all of the temple members had found time to prepare and to bring their gifts on the day of the *odalan*. They are under no compulsion to bring them on a certain day, any day will do except the *paing odalan*, the second day following the *odalan*. And so on this evening there was again to be seen a stream of women and young girls passing in and out of the temple gate bearing offerings.

That night, the orchestra players and the women who dance *méndèt* assembled in the temple about nine o'clock. It began to rain. The people huddled under the roofs of the various *balés*, waiting for the rain to stop. But it did not stop, and soon the earthen floor of the temple court was turned into one big puddle of muddy water. About eleven, they decided that it was no use to wait any longer, and they gave up the idea of performing the dance.

Offerings (*Péndètan*): The *péndètan* offerings were accordingly set out upon a stand, the various sets intended for each shrine, and the whole lot offered at one time to "all the gods" (*betara sami*). Only the priest, and a detachment of men from the *bandjar* whose turn it was to guard (*mekemit*) the temple, remained through this night, and everyone else went home.

Second Day (Paing odalan)

a. m. Awakening; dressing the gods; fresh offerings (*Tetangi*; *ngiasin betara*; *penganjaran*): The next day was much like the last. The same rituals were performed, the same fresh offerings prepared. The chief difference was that all the members did not have to come for the sharing of offerings, and that there was no bringing of individual gifts to the gods. The people say that they do not bring gifts because the gods have gone

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

for a walk (*betara melantjaran*), are not there to receive them. They say that to bring gifts on this day is not actually prohibited, but not customary (*ten biasa*). In a case of necessity, as for instance if a woman had been unclean (*sebel*) following the death of a relative for a period ending only the day after the *odalan*, and expected to be again unclean, because menstruating, on the next day, she might bring her offering on this day — but only in the evening, when the gods are supposed to have returned from their promenade.

p. m. Cockfight (*Metadjèn*): In the afternoon another cockfight was held. The weather was fine, and the occasion a particularly gay one. More than thirty vendors had brought their little tables of refreshments and set them on the outskirts of the crowd. Inside the temple only the old priest and his wife were on guard. A few children played about among the shrines, and some little boys took this opportunity — while the regular players were absent — of banging away upon the instruments of the orchstra.

9:00 p. m. Refreshments and dancing (*Méndèt*): At nine o'clock the dancers of the *méndèt* knelt to make their reverence and to receive holy water. The orchestra played, and they began their series of dance-figures, this time spreading out the offering to the gods in the different shrines to the fullest possible extent. All the lesser gods whose offerings had been grouped together on the night of the *odalan* (see page 53) this time were honored individually, each with one of the dances in the series. They danced twenty *taboeh*, not forgetting even the two little shrines on either side of the gate (*Pengapit Lawang*) and the shrines of Melanting and Gelogor out in the fields on the outskirts of the temple. For these outlying shrines the dancing was done before the temple, and essence of the offerings wafted to them from there (*njawang* — to offer from a distance).

12:00 m. The dancing lasted three hours. At midnight it was finished. Then everyone went home, leaving the priest and the picked watchmen to guard the temple.

Third day (Njimpen)

a. m. Awakening; dressing the gods; fresh offerings (*Tetangi*; *ngiasin betara*; *penganjaran*): Early in the morning, after the usual first ceremonies, the *pengajah* were all called to the temple again, for the offerings to be prepared this day were greater. The fine for non-attendance was ten *képèngs*. The *petadjoeh* was very busy making up his accounts, checking off in the squares marked on his palm leaves for each household whatever was still short in their contributions. This was their last chance to bring their contributions up to the required amount. If they did not bring them today, the value of the lacking supplies would be reckoned in money, and they would be fined double (*nikel*) the amount. All the

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

as the great festival at Bali's head temple, Besakih, both Sivaite and Buddhist high priests may be present and officiating simultaneously.

Temples. Temples in Bali are sites rather than buildings. They are places where the supernatural is dealt with. Often prescriptions for giving offerings will run "at temple A, at temple B, at temple C, at the crossroads, at the graveyard, at the market place, at the spring . . ." Temples consist of one or more courtyards, open to the sky, surrounded by a wall, and containing small shrines and buildings. These buildings are known as *balé*, the very old Malayo-Polynesian word for house (*balé*, Balinese, house, raised platform, platform covered with a roof, place for ceremonial seating; cf. contemporary Polynesian, *falé*, house; contemporary Malay, *balai*, hall of audience). There are *balés* for the setting out of the gods, for the preparation and laying out of offerings, for the orchestra. There is also, in every temple, a kitchen (*paon*). The space immediately outside the gate of the outermost court is a broad cleared space, called the *djaban poera* (outside of the temple) which is ceremonially important. It is here that the "reception of the gods" and the "send off of the gods" take place at festival time. It is here that offerings are spread for demons so that they will remain without and not enter the temple courts. It is here that cock fights are held, ceremonially important for the spilling of blood. And the secular dances and dramatic plays which accompany the calendric festivals are staged in this outer space, often in the shade of an enormous banyan tree (*waringin*, *bingin*).

In the inner court, a line of greater and smaller shrines are arranged close to the rearmost wall and down one or both sides. Though the priest is able to give the names of the Hinduistic gods or the historically known personages to whom these shrines have at one time or another been erected, the people who give offerings at the temple are often not able to. Or the names given will be simple Balinese terms like "He who owns the courtyard" (*Medoewé Karang*). If it is, or has been, a court temple, there will be shrines for the various court officials such as The Secretary (*Penjarikan*), and The Recorder of Births (*Ngeroerah*). It is believed that the throne to the Sun (*Surya*), which is generally set across the corner of the court to the holiest side, mountainward east (*kadja kangin*), the other buildings being squarely and not transversely arranged, may have been added to the temples at a later date than their founding. In many it is absent. It would be possible at any time for a new shrine to be added in the temple simply by someone's going into trance and uttering the gods' wish for the new shrine to be set up. It has been remarked that, if Jesus Christ should come to Bali, the Balinese would put up one more shrine to Him in their temples.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

so far as we know, do not attack the Witch but in the temple do attack themselves with krisses. A man who in trance enacts the Rangda role, when he is not in the mask, is showing an identification with the female figure.

Kesiman. At the Kesiman temple this behavior occurs against the following ceremonial background. During the day, a great cockfight is held in the square outside the high entrance gate of the temple. This is still going on when, in the late afternoon, the processions arrive from the various tributary temples, with Barongs and Rangdas. These enter the temple court, where the Barongs are said to make obeisance (*mebakti*) to the Gods of the Temple. The "followers" make obeisance, too, and immediately, as the Barongs rise to their feet and turn to leave the temple, they leap up, shouting, with drawn krisses, and some begin to stab themselves. The bearers of the Rangda masks appear, for the most part, to go in trance, too, as is manifested in their disoriented manner and jerky walk as they are led towards the gate of the temple. An indescribable chaos rules in the temple court as all this wild, abandoned behavior breaks out; the people crush against each other, perhaps five thousand of them, pressing to keep close to their own Barong. The priests are sprinkling holy water, pushing through the crowd with lighted incense braziers, shouting instructions to each other. In the mêlée a young boy of fifteen or so tries to stab himself, then stands there, his kris limp in his hand, the tears running down his cheeks. Some very old people, men and women, dressed in ceremonial obsolete court dress, form in procession, too, and slowly make their way toward the high gate. These are the *sadegs*, the official trance spokesmen of the gods, who at some time during the festival will hold a ceremonial feast and godly conversation in order to determine the gods' will. Some few of these go into trance now, two of them assume the attitudes of statues and stand for more than an hour holding their poses as guardian figures, one on either side of the ceremonial gate.

One by one, on the day we are describing, the Barongs with their followers and the entranced Rangdas squeezed through the narrow gate. The procession, which was to circumambulate three times the cockfight pit in the outer square, gradually took shape. Masked figures, bearers of regalia, priests, entranced followers brandishing their krisses, and among them the subjective Rangdas without any masks slowly moved forward and around the space. At times the crowd pressed so closely that I had to hold the camera up over my head and keep my finger on the button. We noted that each time they passed the gate the more violent trancers broke into renewed spasms of self stabbing or further careening, and many stopped and gesticulated before

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

Finally, even informal recreational interaction is shaped by extended kinship ties. It is only rarely that a man will enter the house-compound of a non-kinsman after nightfall when the most intensive gossiping takes place, though he will move freely among the yards of his dadia members. (A somewhat more consistent and literal adherence to the virilocal ideal in Tihingan than is common elsewhere means that house compounds of the same dadia tend to be fairly well clustered within the hamlet.) In cock fighting, a great part of the pattern of alliance and opposition—whose cock fights whose, who bets against whom, —is only explicable in kinship terms. In religion, politics, economics, and informal social interaction, kin group membership therefore has a primacy in Tihingan which, though it is far from representing a universal pattern in Bali, is, like Njalian's lattice-work structure, a realized example of one possibility intrinsic in the intersecting plane type of village organization.

In this type of village organization the dangers of factionalism are obvious and the problem of containing kin group loyalties within the bounds of affiliation in hamlet, irrigation society, temple group, and so on becomes acute. Public activities are often marked by partially concealed kin group antagonisms. For example, when the hereditary priest of the origin and death temples died without an heir ten years ago, the kin groups could not agree on his successor so that responsibility for the ceremonies in these temples now rotates among the priests of the four dadia temples—a highly unsatisfactory and irregular pattern that the people themselves regard as "not quite right, but better than having an open war." At hamlet meetings in the balé the sort of universal agreement necessary to make decisions is difficult to accomplish, so that many proposals are blocked by the opposition of a minority kin group. For example, when the Perbekel tried to convince the hamlet to change funeral customs so as to bury people immediately, even on an unlucky day, rather than keep the corpse in the house for several days (a government-suggested health reform that the neighboring bandjar had adopted with little difficulty) the opposition of the dadia most hostile to the Perbekel's prevented the change from taking place, although the majority of villagers were in favor of it. Antagonisms arising out of marriages and divorces across dadia lines, economic rivalries between the musical instrument manufacturing groups, and competitive prestige displays at dadia temple ceremonies also contributed to the heightening of this sort of intergroup tension.

Yet in general, the village is fairly well integrated and factionalization is usually kept within bounds.[11] In part this is accomplished by the concurrent application of two explicit rules of procedure. The first rule is that whenever a group formed on the basis of one principle of affiliation is allocated a given social function, no other principle of affiliation may receive any recognition whatsoever. Thus if the hamlet is cooperating in some task, the work is never suborganized in terms of kinship, caste, or any other bond. If subgroups are technically necessary, people are grouped in a random manner, each family being regarded as a hamlet member pure and simple, as having no qualitative difference from any other. ("The hamlet knows no kinship," runs a Balinese

[101 cont.]

000 people during the first year of marriage.

621 651 [102] The villagers also have financial duties; they must pay for the dèsa festivals and ceremonies through the patoeroenan, a tax payable in money. To provide the dèsa treasury with money,

[142 291]

Balinese Family Group
Photo. Kolonial Instituut, Amsterdam. Coll. Aug. de Wit.

[541 525] cock-fighting also is organized, and a portion of the betting money exacted.

623 [805] Village Meetings. These usually take place once a month (the Balinese month has 35 days), in the village temple at full moon and in the temple of the dead at new moon, or, in the old-fashioned dèsa, in the balé-agoeng erected in the forecourt of the [624] village temple. The evening before the meeting the messengers of the klian summon the villagers on the signal block.

1:Alkema & Bezemer--473 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Mori-LaKi OG7
Celebes OG1
Batak OD5
Bali OF7
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[142
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[424 cont.]

hombre, introduced by the Portuguese); also checkers and chess, and the Batak, for example, are noted as excellent chess players.

A very popular amusement throughout the archipelago is to hold

Cockfight
Photo. Folkwang-Verlag

I
[636]
Bl
541

animal fights, the chief aspect of which is the betting done by the spectators. Cockfighting is the most widespread, and, although forbidden by the Government, it is still common in areas where the prohibition cannot be enforced. The people of Bali are known as particularly passionate devotees of these fights. Certain cocks are raised to fight, and they are looked after with painstaking care. Usually the cocks are provided with artificial spurs of metal, in Malayan called tadji; the spurs are bound on the leg at different heights in an attempt to make both champions about equal in strength. The fight is over only when one of the champions is dead or when the loser, after he has

Bali OFT
Java OE1
Atjehnese OD4
Madura OE6

B
●541 [424 cont.]
given up the fight, is pecked on the head three times by the
J winner. The other animals used for fighting are: on Java,
541 quails (gemak), and, indeed, females, crickets (djangkrik), only
the males, and a kind of fish (Betta pugnax) which, when en-
A raged by a dispute over smaller fish, change color; on Atjeh
541 (also on Java before the Government prohibited them), fighting
636 rams, on which the Atjehnese lavish extraordinary care; on
M Madura, bulls, and the goal is to have one of the champions
541 forced back. On festive occasions in former times on Java, the
princes and notables used to stage fights between a buffalo and a
tiger. Another popular amusement was the so-called rampog
party; a tiger or a panther was put inside a large square forma-
tion of Javanese armed with lances; wherever he tried to break
through, he would be met by sharp lances, [425] until at last he
would die of his wounds, or, if he dared a spring, he would be
caught on the lances and killed. A special entertainment in
which animals take part but do not fight are the karapan-sapi or
balapan, races with bulls, which are greatly appreciated on
Madura and only there (and among the Madurese on eastern Java).
Two bulls are teamed together in front of a kind of bamboo sledge,
on which the owner takes his place. The bulls are decked out
with extraordinary care with colored, often very costly cloths or
pieces of material around the horns, neck, and body, and little
bells and fringes here and there. It is decided in advance which
teams are to compete with each other; accompanied by vehement
cries the competitors start an astonishing drive. The winner is
festively brought in like a hero by his dèsa comrades.

The lavish care that the inhabitants bestow upon these racing
animals is of great benefit to the livestock, which is one of the
chief assets of Madura. The bull races are one of the principal
amusements of the Madurese people, who otherwise, perhaps
because of their more frugal nature, do not do as much cele-
J brating as the Javanese.
I Mention should also be made of the sham fights that are found
541 in various places in the archipelago and also are now enjoyed with

Malays AN5
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

MI [125 cont.]

the Malays, as is shown by the name sabung; hence, one finds
541 it exclusively among those of Mandalling. Besides the Malays,
MK the Makassarese and Buginese are also ardent lovers of this sport.
541 Among them cockfights take place not only on festive occasions
231 and marketdays, but almost daily. They raise and maintain their fighting cocks with the greatest care, and their infatuation with them goes so far that a special nobility has been created for these animals. This nobility can be acquired by the bird's own victory or by those of his ancestors. If a cock has particularly distinguished himself during a fight, his descendants are named after him and his pedigree will be faithfully kept. Before an animal fights, one must check to see whether or not he belongs to the nobility. If he does, then there is still the question as to whether his patent of nobility is of a more recent or more ancient date, because the cocks of ancient nobility are highly esteemed and large amounts are bet on them. Makassarese and Buginese writings incessantly mention cocks as examples of courage and heroes are repeatedly compared with fighting cocks. Here, too, the cocks are provided with artificial spurs. One can appreciate how sharp they are by knowing that they are made primarily from old English razors. The betting during the fights
MK sometimes runs very high. Eight thousand guilders has been bet
[525] on a cock of ancient nobility (2).

2. Matthes, Bijdrage t. d. Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, pp. 116 f. De Serrière, Tijdschr. v. Ned. Ind., 1873, Vol. I, p. 92. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 131.

BI Besides southern Celebes, cockfights are also held on Bali.
54 This amusement, however, was introduced to the Balinese,
[126] who learned it from the Malays, as was also the case
I among the Javanese, Makassarese, and Buginese. We should
54 add that according to No. 10 of the General Police Criminal
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